

Ad Dudink

## Sacramental Initiation in Matteo Ricci's Mission

In January or February 1610, a few months before his death, Matteo Ricci reported about the Christian community in Beijing, where within a period of some fourteen months (since November 1608) more than a hundred persons had been baptized, a community that by then consisted of more than four hundred Christians. This report is the last of his writings that have been preserved and the final sentence reads: «On the Christmas that followed [that is in 1609], many confessed, while fourteen persons received the Most Holy Sacrament of the Communion, which for these beginnings was a fine number (*buon numero*)»<sup>1</sup>.

By the way, in those days the faithful did not receive communion frequently: after having confessed only a restricted number were deemed to be worthy by the priest of receiving the communion; in general, the faithful attending Mass, were advised to practice spiritual communion. I leave this subject for the moment<sup>2</sup>, but against this background 14 persons among some 400 Christians must indeed have been a fine number.

Accidentally or not, the last sentence which Ricci wrote<sup>3</sup> concerns the sacraments. Indeed, in his *Dottrina Christiana* of 1605 he took special care of introducing the sacraments (which, except for baptism, had not yet been

<sup>1</sup> P. D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, 3 voll., Roma, Libreria dello Stato, 1942-1949, vol. II, p. 483. M. Ricci, *Della entrata della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*, Macerata, Quodlibet, 2000, p. 558. Strictly speaking, the last preserved sentence that Ricci wrote is the title of the next chapter, *Del progresso della Cristianità di Nanchino* [...], Cap. XVIII.

<sup>2</sup> For some further information and source references, see p. 284 (and the notes 263-264) of A. Dudink, *The Holy Mass in seventeenth and eighteenth century China*, in N. Golvers and S. Lievens (eds.), *A lifelong dedication to the China mission*, Leuven, Ferdinand Verbiest Institute, 2007, pp. 207-326.

<sup>3</sup> On p. 110 of my *Matteo Ricci in the footsteps of Chen Liang?*, in F. D'Arelli (a cura di), *Le Marche e l'Oriente: Una tradizione ininterrotta da Matteo Ricci a Giuseppe Tucci*, Roma, Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 1998, pp. 91-114, I erroneously stated that Ricci a few days before his death «wrote» (read: «said») of the China of his days «this desert of paganism» («in hac gentilitatis deserto», see D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, cit., vol. II, p. 541).

mentioned in the catechism of 1584 composed by Michele Ruggieri<sup>4</sup>). But he did so with much caution and care, as he writes in a letter written to Fabio de Fabii (his Jesuit novice-master) on the 9<sup>th</sup> of May 1605, just after the publication of the *Dottрина*: «It was necessary to use and to make many ecclesiastical words that are new in China, but each time that such a word occurs for the first time there follows in a smaller type of letter a short explanation».

Ricci continues with giving the table of contents:

In the first place the Our Father (天主經), in the second the Ave Maria (天神朝天主聖母), in the third the Ten Commandments (天主十誡), in the fourth place the Creed (亞玻斯多羅性薄錄), in the fifth the sign of the cross (聖號經), in the sixth the works of mercy, corporal and spiritual (形神哀矜之行十四端), in the seventh place the eight beatitudes (真福八端), in the eighth place the seven mortal sins (罪宗七端), in the ninth place the seven remedies for them or opposite virtues (克罪七端有七德), in the tenth place the five senses of the body (身有五司), in the eleventh place the three powers of the soul (神有三司), and in the twelfth place the three theological virtues (向天主有三德)<sup>5</sup>.

Now looking at, what Ricci calls, the ecclesiastical words (new in China) which he had to use and to make, and which he had to explain in notes set in a smaller type of letter, they are the following transliterated Portuguese or Latin terms or names<sup>6</sup>:

Amen	ya-meng 亞孟
Ave	ya-wu 亞物 (wu = vō, vōe, ve)
Maria	ma-li-ya 瑪利亞
Gratia	e-la-li-ya 額辣濟亞
Jesus	ye-su 耶穌
apostolos	ya-bo-si-duo-luo 亞玻斯多羅 (luo = lō)
simbolo (Creed)	xing-bo-lu 性薄錄 (lu = lō)
Patre	ba-de-le 罷德肋
Filio	fei-lue 費略 (lue = liō)
Christo	qi-li-si-du 契利斯督 (du = tō)
Spirito Santo	si-bi-li-duo-san-duo 斯彼利多三多

<sup>4</sup> For the text of Ruggieri's catechism of 1584, see N. Standaert and A. Dudink (eds.), *Chinese Christian Texts from the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus* [=CCT/ARSI], 12 voll., Taipei, Ricci Institute, 2002, vol. I, pp. 1-80 (for baptism, see p. 78, where only the south-Chinese transliteration for the sacraments is given: sha-ge-mian-duo 沙革面多 and for baptism: mao-di-shi-mo 矛低是磨).

<sup>5</sup> See M. Ricci, *Lettre 1580-1609*, Macerata, Quodlibet, 2001, p. 386. Actually, as pointed by D'Elia (Fonti Ricciane, cit., p. 290, note), Ricci made a small mistake in this enumeration of the twelve parts of the *Dottрина*: the last item is in fact the ninth item (and the nos. 10-11 are 11-12). See also A. Dudink, *Tianzhu jiaoyao: The catechism (1605) published by Matteo Ricci*, in «Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal», 24 (2002), pp. 38-50. For the Chinese titles of the 12 sections, see Shengjing yuelu 聖經約錄 (Jap.Sin. I, 126) in: CCT/ARSI, vol. I, pp. 87-116.

<sup>6</sup> Cfr. D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, cit., pp. 290-291 (note). For the Chinese transcription of characters I use the modern Pinyin system; for some characters, however, I have added between brackets the transcription as given by Nicolas Trigault S.J. in the pronunciation-dictionary for Westerners, Xiru ernu zi 西儒耳目資, 1626.

<sup>7</sup> For an Italian marriage), see D'Elia (Fonti Ricciane, cit., note 8 (confession); the Portuguese *Dottрина* done by Kamei Tak Lisboa, impresso co maneira de Dialogo

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Pontio Pilato Ecclesia

Tianzhu jiaoyao (2n 文曰保弟斯摩)



Pontio Pilato  
Ecclesia

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e-ge-le-xi-ya 厄格勒西亞

Notice that in the translation of the first sentence of the Hail Mary (*Ave Maria gratia plena*) only *plena* (full of) was directly translated (*manbei* 滿被). Apart from explaining in notes transliterations, one time Ricci explains in a short note a Chinese word in the text of the Creed, viz. that «to create» (*hua-cheng* 化成) which means «to make being with non-being», that is *creatio ex nihilo* (*yi wu wei you* 以無為有).

Ricci concludes the description of his *Dottrina Christiana* (in his letter of 9 May 1605) as follows «At the end we put the names of the seven sacraments in our language, and with a smaller type of letter we made a short but such a concise explanation of them that it provides great light for understanding the essence of them».

Let us now look at the list of the sacraments in Ricci's *Dottrina Christiana* and at the notes that explain them<sup>7</sup>:

There are seven *sa-ge-la-meng-duo* 撒格辣孟多 (Port. *sacramentos*, or sacraments) of the *e-ge-le-xi-ya* 厄格勒西亞 (Latin: *ecclesia*, or church)<sup>8</sup>.

Note: *sa-ge-la-meng-duo* means in translation «traces of holy things»: the Lord of Heaven uses them to bestow favours on people.

*ba-di-si-mo* (Port. *baptismo*, or baptism)<sup>9</sup>.

Note: in translation this means «to wash, to cleanse». When Jesus was on earth, he ordered, before ascending to Heaven, the apostles and the later bishops, that all people when they for the first time follow the Holy Teaching, should undergo a fixed ritual whereby one uses clear water and, while reciting a canonical prayer, cleanses them, the Lord of Heaven will immediately wash away their 'old pollution' (original sin) (*su ran* 夙染), forgive all their sins, and then they will be persons of the Holy Teaching and be called *qi-li-si-dang* 契利斯當 (Port. *Christam*, or Christian).

<sup>7</sup> For an Italian translation by Pasquale D'Elia of four of the seven (except baptism, orders, marriage), see D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, cit., p. 310, note 4 (Mass); p. 311, note 2 (confirmation); p. 309, note 8 (confession); p. 351 note 2 (extreme unction). In my notes to the present translation I refer to the Portuguese *Dottrina Christiana* used in the Jesuit mission of Japan: *Doctrina Christã, ordenada a maneira de Dialogo, pera ensinar os meninos*, pelo Padre Marcos Iorge da Companhia de Iesu..., Em Lisboa, impresso com licença, por Pedro Crasbeeck, 1602 (facsimile edition with Japanese translation done by Kamei Takashi, Hubert Cieslik and Kijima Yukie, published in 1983 by Iwanami shoten in Tokyo). In addition to the Chinese text of Ricci himself (CCT/ARSI, vol. 1, pp. 111-115), I refer to lists of the sacraments in the following three catechisms: 1) *Jiaoyao jielüe* 教要解略 (1615) written by Alfonso Vagnone (CCT/ARSI, vol. 1, pp. 221-222, actually an extensive explanation of Ricci's *Dottrina*); 2) *Tianzhu shengjiao qimeng* 天主聖教啟蒙 (1619?) written by João da Rocha (CCT/ARSI, vol. I, pp. 484-485); 3) *Tianzhu jiaoyao* 天主教要 written by an anonymous author during the second half of the 17th century (CCT/ARSI, vol. I, pp. 339-345).

<sup>8</sup> M. Iorge: *Os Sacramentos da sancta Igreja sam sete*. Ricci: 厄格勒西亞 撒格辣孟多 有七; idem: Vagnone (1615), Da Rocha (1619?), *Tianzhu jiaoyao* (2nd half of 17th cent).

<sup>9</sup> Iorge: *O primeiro he, Baptismo*; Ricci: 一, 拔弟斯摩 (*ba-di-si-mo*), idem: Vagnone and Da Rocha; *Tianzhu jiaoyao* (2nd half of 17th cent): «cleansing (*xidi* 洗滌), in the original text: «*ba-di-si-mo*» (原文曰 保弟斯摩).



2. *gong-fei-er-ma-zang* (Port. *confirmacão*, confirmation)<sup>10</sup>.

Note: in translation this means "to stimulate". Everyone who has received the holy

water (or: has been baptized), as soon as he has reached his manhood, goes to the religious

overseer 主教, the *bi-si-bo* 俾斯波 (Port. *bispo*, or bishop), for the ritual of anointing his

forehead with holy oil so that he will be stimulated to practice the things of the Holy

Teaching.

3. *gong-meng-yang* (Port. *comunhão*, or communion)<sup>11</sup>.

Note: in translation this means "to communicate mutually" (*xiang qu* 相取). The faith-

ful, when they have become adult, have to be freed from their sins regularly, so that their

heart and mind are at peace, and then under the image of bread and wine, they receive the

holy body of Jesus, in order to enjoy the Lord of Heaven's abundant grace.

4. *bai-ni-deng-ji-ya* (Port. *penitencia*, or confession)<sup>12</sup>.

Note: in translation this means "to repent with sorrow". According to the rules of the

Teaching of the Lord of Heaven, men and women have to do self-examination habitually.

All those who transgressed the Commandments shall feel sorrow and repent with a sincere

heart, and set their will to become good. They should kneel at the side of the seat of the

Spiritual Father 神父, the *sa-ze-er-duo-de* 撒貴耳鐸德 (Port. *sacerdote*, or priest), and reve-

al in all truth the faults and sins they have committed, asking for absolution, and listening

to the instruction (of the priest). After the *sacerdote* has recited the canonical prayers, then

one is absolved on behalf of the Lord of Heaven.

5. *e-si-de-le-ma weng-zang* (Port. *extrema unctio*, extreme unction)<sup>13</sup>.

Note: in translation means "final unction with holy oil". When Christians are sick and

are going to die, they invite the 'sacerdote' to come to their house in order to recite the

canonical prayer and anoint their five senses with holy oil, so that they immediately will

attract the Lord of Heaven's [merciful] attention.

6. *e-er-deng* (Port. *ordem*, or holy orders)<sup>14</sup>.

7. in translation this means "grade, rank". Among the people of the holy teaching there

are those who out of themselves want to especially serve the Lord of Heaven, to make

sacrifices, and so on; they thoroughly study the ritual texts of the Holy Teaching and after

seven ranks (that is the four minor orders and the major orders of subdeacon, deacon and

priest) up to the honourable rank of *sa-ze-er-duo-de* (Port. *sacerdote* or priest), and then

10 Iorge: O segundo, Confirmacão; Ricci: 二, 共斐兒瑪藏 (gong-fei-er-ma-zang), idem: Vagnone

and Da Rocha; Tianzhu jiaoyao (2nd half 17th cent.): «strengthening and stimulating» (jianzhen 堅振),

in the original text: gong-fei-er-ma-zang (原文曰 共斐兒瑪藏).

11 Iorge: O terceiro, Comunhão; Ricci: 三, 共蒙仰 (-meng-yang), idem Vagnone and Da Rocha

(the latter only has 恭 for 共); Tianzhu jiaoyao (2nd half 17th cent.): «the holy body» (shengti 聖體), in

the original text: gong-meng-yang (原文曰 共蒙).

12 Iorge: O quarto, Penitencia; Ricci: 四, 白尼登濟亞 (bai-ni-deng-ji-ya), idem: Vagnone and Da

Rocha; Tianzhu jiaoyao (2nd half 17th cent.): «repenting with sorrow», in the original text: bai-ni-

deng-ji-ya (原文曰 白尼登濟亞).

13 Iorge: O quinto, Extrema unctio; Ricci: 五, 阿斯得肋麻翁藏 (e-si-de-le-ma weng-zang (Trigault,

Xiru ermuzi, 1626: 翁藏 = um-gam), idem Vagnone and Da Rocha (the latter: 瑪 for 麻); Tianzhu jiao-

yao (2nd half 17th cent.): «final unction» (zhongfu 終傅), in the original text: e-si-de-le-ma weng-zang

14 Iorge: O sexto, Ordem; Ricci: 六, 阿兒等 (e-er-deng), idem: Vagnone and Da Rocha (the latter:

平 for 兒); Tianzhu jiaoyao (2nd half 17th cent.): «rank» (pinji 品級), in the original text: e-er-deng (

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7. *ma-di-li-mo-niu* (Port. *matrimonio*, or matrimony, marriage)<sup>15</sup>.

Notte: in translation this means «to unite in marriage». Man and woman marry by way of a rite. It is only allowed for one husband and one wife, who stay together until old age; during their entire life they may not divorce and separate.

Although Ricci may rightly have stated that these notes contain the essence of each of sacrament, he already soon started with writing a more extensive explanation, which probably was continued by Diego de Pantoja and was ready for print in 1610<sup>16</sup>. Eventually, a further explanation of Ricci's *Dottrina Christiana* was completed by Alfonso Vagnone and published in 1615 (*Jiaoyao jielüe* 教要解略). The explanation of the sacraments in *Jiaoyao jielüe* is much longer than that in Ricci's *Dottrina* and covers nineteen pages (against five pages)<sup>17</sup>.

Looking at Ricci's presentation of the sacraments in his *Dottrina Christiana*, it is striking that he uses transliterations of the Portuguese names for them (in addition to introducing in the notes terms that he had not used earlier in the text: Christam, bispo, and sacerdote). Paul Brunner, in his study (1964) of the first Chinese prayerbook of 1628 and its later development<sup>18</sup>, remarks (p. 22) of Ricci's *Dottrina*:

The text of the basic prayers is a small masterpiece of translation<sup>19</sup>. Still, today we are amazed that Ricci, the great champion of missionary adaptation, shrank back from adopting Chinese terms to translate theological notions like the Holy Spirit or the Trinity, the Church, the sacraments, and that he contented himself with transposing in Chinese characters the corresponding Portuguese sounds, in conformity to the missionary method of that time.

Nevertheless, in the Chinese context of that time this procedure was not so unusual. Although Buddhism had been present in China for centuries, one still used in certain instances transliterations in addition to native terms, for example, *ni-huan* 泥洹, or *ni-pan* 涅槃, the transliterated terms for *nirvâna* (in addition to a Chinese term like 'miedu' 滅度)<sup>20</sup>. This transliteration was

<sup>15</sup> Iorge: O septimo, Matrimonio; Ricci: 七，瑪地利摩紐 (*ma-di-li-mo-niu*); Vagnone, idem; Da Rocha: *ma-di-li-mo-ni-ê* 瑪第利摩尼厄 (Trigault, *Xiru ermu zi*, 1626: 厄 = ô); Tianzhu jiaoyao (2nd half 17th cent.): "marriage" (hunpei 婚配), in the original text: *ma-di-li-mo-ni-ê* (原文曰 瑪地利摩尼厄).

<sup>16</sup> See D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, cit., vol. II, p. 291 (n. 709); Ricci, *Della entrata della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*, cit., p. 454, and the note by Pasquale D'Elia, *ivi*, p. 292.

<sup>17</sup> CCT/ARSI, vol. I, pp. 222-240 (against pp. 111-115).

<sup>18</sup> P. Brunner, *L'euchologe de la mission de Chine: Editio princeps 1628 et développements jusqu'à nos jours. Contribution à l'histoire des livres des prières*, Münster (Westfalen), Aschendorff, 1964.

<sup>19</sup> Several of these prayers are biblical texts: the Our Father (Matt. 6, 9-13), the first part of the Hail Mary (Luk. 1, 28, 42), the Ten Commandments, the Eight Beatitudes (Matt. 5, 3-10).

<sup>20</sup> Note that the early Buddhists "first translated the term *nirvâna* by the Chinese expression *wu-wei* 無為 (no action, uncreated, not produced from causes) but eventually they found the Chinese expression



still used in the early seventeenth century, as testified by abbot Zhuhong 祿宏 (1535-1615)<sup>21</sup> in letters to Chinese literati<sup>22</sup>. Even Ricci himself at least once used such a partly transliterated term, viz. 'nicu' (Pinyin: 'nigū' 尼姑<sup>23</sup>, a 'ni' maiden ('ni' being the last syllable of Sanskrit bhiksuni 比丘尼, Buddhist nun). Only shortly after Ricci, in the 1630s, adherents of another foreign religion in China, viz. Islam, began to publish Islam texts in Chinese. In 1638, a certain Zhang Shizhong 張時中 met an Indian Sufi master in Nanjing (Nanking) and studied with him for three years. As a result of this he published a work entitled *Guizhen zongyi* 歸真總義 (General principles of the return), «based on an original Arabic work, the transliteration of which is given in Chinese as *yimani muzhimole* 以麻尼穆默勒. This work has been identified by Donald Leslie as the *Imani majnu*, a Sufi text in wide circulation in the Persian-speaking Islamic world during the fourteenth century. [...] Zhang was also the author of an original work, the *Kelimo* 克里默, which is a short explanation of the meaning of kalām, or Islamic 'theology'. In this work, too, Zhang operated as a translator, citing key terms in Arabic (in transliterated form) and then translating and explaining them». So far two quotations from on a recent work (2005) on Muslims in late imperial China<sup>24</sup>. Thus, instead of being amazed that Ricci used transliterations, we may also say that it was a natural process with which the Chinese were well acquainted (and they may even have asked him for the original word): first transliterations with explanation and then gradually translations. After Ricci's death, missionaries for at least ten or twenty years continued to use transliterations. For example, Giulio Aleni in his *World Geography* (*Zhifang waiji* 職方外紀) of 1623 (an annotated Italian translation of it came

to be inadequate and had to transliterate the Sanskrit into the Chinese ni-p'an 涅槃" (p. 18 of C. Wing-tsit, *Neo-Confucianism: New ideas in old terminology*, in «Philosophy East and West», 17 (1967), pp. 15-35).

<sup>21</sup> Zhuhong (or Chu-hung in the Wade-Giles transcription system, which was often used in the 20th century, or Ciuhom in the transcription system used by Pasquale D'Elia), also called Lianchi 蓮池, is well-known from his refutation (*Tian shuo* 天說, 1615, four essays) of certain of Ricci's ideas, a refutation which in its turn was refuted by probably Ricci's disciple Paul Xu Guangqi, although it was published 'posthumously' under Ricci's name. For the text of *Tian shuo* followed by the refutation of it by 'Ricci', see M. Ricci, *Bianxue yidu* 辯學遺牘 (ca. 1624) in *Tianxue chubhan* 天學初函 (1626), 2 voll., facsimile reprint (Taipei 1965), vol. II, pp. 651-687 (in four parts).

<sup>22</sup> See Zhuhong's collected works (1897 edition), *Yunqi fahui* 雲棲法彙 (*Zhonghua dazang jing* 中華大藏經, ce 129, *Jiaxing xu zang* 嘉興續藏, no. 277, pp. 54490-54944). I have noticed the use of *ni-huan* or *ni-pan*, preceded by *fan yu* 梵語 (Sanskrit), and usually followed by 'this means ...' (ci yun 此云) on p. 54666 (f. 18a4), p. 54749 (f. 2b5), and p. 54753 (f. 9b2). These are merely a few examples. Other terms are sometimes also given in Sanskrit transcription and then translated: e.g., p. 54669 (f. 25b2); p. 54670 (f. 27a7); p. 54584 (f. 5a8).

<sup>23</sup> See D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, cit., vol. I, p. 127 (n. 191); Ricci, *Della entrata della Compagnia di Giesu e Christianità nella Cina*, cit., p. 102.

<sup>24</sup> See pp. 128 and 129 of Z.B.-D. Benite, *The Dao of Muhammad: A Cultural History of Muslims in Late Imperial China*, Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Asia Center, 2005.

<sup>25</sup> G. Aleni, *civiltà Bresciana - notes, by Douglas Ricci S.J., The true Latin summary of* *descriptive catalo* *Sim. I, 126, repro* *note 5). Cf. D'El* *la is absent in an* *in 1934 in the cop* *ca», 27 (1938), p* *primigenia forma* *27 See Pasqua* *厄德-e-de 費離意* *reads in Chinese:* *26 The Latin* *of Judea).* *civiltà Bresciana -* *25 G. Aleni, (*



out last year), when in the context of a short presentation of the Christian teaching he speaks of the remission of sins, he still uses the terms *ba-di-si-mo* 拔地斯摩 (baptism) and *gong-fei-sang* 恭隸桑 (confession, from the Portuguese *confessam*, instead of the 'Riccian' *penitência*)<sup>25</sup>. When roughly in the second half of the seventeenth century, the names of the sacraments in the *Dottrina Christiana* were replaced by fully Chinese terms, the notes in a smaller type of letter still mention the transliterations that are found, as is said, in the original text (see below, the endnotes 9-15).

Another example of the gradual transition from transliteration to translation is the Latin baptismal formula ("Ego te baptizo ..."), which initially was only transliterated (for baptism in case of emergency to be administered by Chinese converts or even non-baptized Chinese)<sup>26</sup>. This transliterated formula is found at the very end of Ricci's *Dottrina* (just after the section on the sacraments), but only in the copy which Ricci himself had sent to Europe, to the Jesuit Assistant, Juan Alvarez. This transliterated Latin formula was replaced by a translated formula already in the year (1611) after Ricci's death, but the names of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit were kept in transliteration, and their names were replaced by full Chinese translations only in 1936<sup>27</sup>.

Returning to Ricci's *Dottrina Christiana*, catechumens received the *Dottrina Christiana* kneeling at the altar during a ceremony (called *chengjing* 承經)<sup>28</sup>. After they had learned it, they were admitted to the chapel and until their baptism could attend the first half of the Mass<sup>29</sup>. When aspirant Christians had to learn the *Dottrina Christiana*, this meant in the first place that they should know by heart the prayers (the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the

<sup>25</sup> G. Aleni, *Geografia dei paesi stranieri alla Cina*, translated by P. De Troia, Brescia, Fondazione civiltà Bresciana – Centro Giulio Aleni, 2009, p. 76 (original text: *juan 1*, f. 14a, part of the description of Judea).

<sup>26</sup> The Latin baptismal formula (*ego te baptizo in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen*) reads in Chinese: 厄峨 e-e(wo) 德 de 拔弟作 ba-di-zuo 引 yin 諾米擲 nuo-mi-nuo 罷德利斯 ba-de-li-si 厄德 e-de 費離意 fei-li-yi 厄德 e-de 斯彼利都 si-bi-li-du-si 三隔弟 san-ge-di 亞孟 ya-meng.

<sup>27</sup> See Pasquale D'Elia, note 4 on pp. 506-507 of *Fonti Ricciane*, cit. (vol. II) and his article *De primigenia forma Baptismatis signis sinensibus expressa*, in «Periodica de re morali, canonica, liturgica», 27 (1938), pp. 340-348. This Latin/Chinese baptismal formula was discovered by Pasquale D'Elia in 1934 in the copy of Ricci's Chinese *Dottrina*, which copy now seems to have disappeared; this formula is absent in another copy, ARSI, Jap. Sin. I, 126 (entitled *Shengjing yuelu*), which I have used (see note 5). Cfr. D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, cit., vol. II, p. 290 (note) and D'Elia's note on the title page of Jap. Sin. I, 126, reproduced in A. Chan S.J., *Chinese books and documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome: A descriptive catalogue (Japonica-Sinica I-IV)*, Armonk (N.Y.)-London, Sharpe, 2002, p. 106.

<sup>28</sup> Mentioned e.g. towards the very end of Ricci's *Tianzhu shiyi* (承經, 領聖水, 入教) and Ricci's Latin summary of this book («Christianus fieri [...], si [...] suscipiat aquam sancti baptismi, et percipiat ea quae in Doctrina Christiana, quam vertimus in literas Sinicas, ediscat.»); see p. 456 and 472 in: M. Ricci S.J., *The true meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (T'ien-chu Shih-i), translated, with introduction and notes, by Douglas Lancashire and Peter Hu Kuo-chen S.J.: A Chinese-English edition edited by Edward J. Malatesta S.J. (Variétés sinologiques, no. 72), St. Louis (Mo.); Taipei, 1985.

<sup>29</sup> D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane* cit., vol. II, p. 194 (n. 642).



Creed, the sign of the cross) and texts like the Ten Commandments and may-be also the enumerations of beatitudes, virtues, works of mercy, and so on. As to the sacraments, later Chinese editions of the *Dotrina* often do not mention the sacraments. Ricci must have found it important that aspirant Christians had some idea of the sacraments, and even introduces all sacraments, although three of them were not yet administered at that time in China (viz. confirmation, holy orders and matrimony). Aspirant Christians apparently were not required to learn the sacraments by heart or to be fully instructed on them before baptism. There are at least two examples of people (among them Paul Xu Guangqi) who only after their baptism came to know of the sacrament of confession<sup>30</sup>, and the missionaries for various reasons (such as the hesitations and did not admit new converts to confession and communion immediately after baptism, as a recent study notes<sup>31</sup>.

As to the Mass, Ricci himself explains in his diary that only after baptism the ceremonies of the Mass are explained<sup>32</sup>, and apparently for this reason the *Dotrina* virtually only speaks of Communion and hardly of the Mass itself (see the explanations of the third and the sixth sacrament). But even in the case of the communion, Ricci seems to have been cautious, not in the first place because not all Christians, even after having confessed, were deemed worthy of receiving the holy body (compare the circumstance, mentioned above, that there were only fourteen communicants on Christmas 1609 among the many who had confessed). Probably another reason was also a certain fear for a profanation of the eucharist. A good example is the episode in Ricci's diary that deals with the only time that he tells about an extreme unction (the fifth sacrament), an episode during which Ricci behaves at little bit peculiarly ("etwas eigenartig", p. 353), in the words of Johann Bettray in his "Die Akkommodationsmethode des P. Matteo Ricci S.I. in China"<sup>33</sup>, a book that I

<sup>30</sup> Bettray (see below, note 33), p. 348, referring to D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, cit., vol. II, p. 255 (n. 683) and p. 310 (n. 716); cfr. Ricci, *Della entrata della Compagnia di Gesù e Christianità nella Cina*, cit., pp. 434, 459.

<sup>31</sup> E. Menegon, *Deliver us from evil: Confession and salvation in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Chinese Catholicism*, in N. Standaert and A. Dudink (eds.), *Forgive us our sins: Confession in late Ming and early Qing China*, Sancti Augustin, Institut Monumenta Sertica, 2006, pp. 1-101.

<sup>32</sup> D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, cit., vol. II, p. 194 (n. 642); Ricci, *Della entrata della Compagnia di Gesù e Christianità nella Cina*, cit., p. 382. These explanations by Ricci and his confreres have not been preserved, but without any doubt they were in the form of the "expositio Missae" which Giulio Aleni used in his *Misa jiyi* (1629) and *Misa jiyi lie* 彌撒祭義略 (on which the Yu Misa gongcheng 與彌撒功程 of 1721 is based). For further information on this type of explanation, see the article mentioned above in note 2.

<sup>33</sup> J. Bettray S.V.D., *Die Akkommodationsmethode des P. Matteo Ricci S.I. in China*, Dissertation ad Lauram in Facultate Missiologica Pontificiae Universitatis Gregoriana, Romae 1955 (411 pp.), especially the sixth and last part: Die religiöse Akkommodation (pp. 235-382), Sektion 3, Die Verchristlichung Chinas: 1. Die Taufpraxis Riccis und seine Untergebenen (pp. 328-345); 2. Die Praxis Riccis

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have mainly used for this lecture. In early January 1608, the convert Fabio who had been baptized around June 1605 at the age of 82, was mortally ill. The priests came to his house to hear his confession, after which he asked for the most holy body of Christ (the viaticum). But the priests felt that they could not decently say Mass in Fabio's house and [because for that reason they had to bring him the consecrated host from their residence] they also felt that they could not carry through the streets the Most Holy Sacrament with the required decency (con la decentia devota). So they told Fabio that it was not necessary (for a good death) to receive the communion and that it sufficed to have confessed. But he insisted to receive the Body of Christ. So one carried Fabio to the residence (at a distance of two or three miles from his home), where he was laid on a bed in one of the rooms. Then the way from the chapel to that room was covered with carpets and perfumes, and in a solemn procession of Christians with candles the priest (Ricci) brought the Holy Sacrament to the room and gave Fabio the communion. After a few days he died at his home, having received there the Extreme Unction<sup>34</sup>.

The organization of this symposium asked me to tell something about sacramental initiation in Ricci's mission. Although not everything has been said (questions as: after how much instruction and time did one administer baptism; the baptism of women; how did one attend the Mass, etc.), one thing is clear: Ricci and his fellow Jesuits introduced the sacraments step by step and with much caution, without being, in this respect, champions of missionary adaptation.

und seiner Mitarbeiter bezüglich Busse, Eucharistie und hl. Öl (pp. 346-354); 3. Sonn- und Feiertage, Fasten und Bruderschaften (pp. 354-365); 4. Das Kreuz in der Jesuitenmission der Zeit Riccis in China (pp. 365-382).

<sup>34</sup> D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, cit., vol. II, pp. 349-351, n. 764 (Ricci, *Della entrata della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*, cit., pp. 485-486); cfr. Ricci, *Lettere 1580-1609*, cit., pp. 457-458 (letter of 6 March 1608); p. 497 (letter of 22 August 1608).



Scienza Ragione Fede  
Il genio di P. Matteo Ricci

a cura di Claudio Giuliodori e Roberto Sani

eum



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 Centro Direzionale, via Carducci 63/a - 62100 Macerata  
 info.ceum@unimc.it  
 http://ceum.unimc.it

Stampa:  
 Tecnostampa srl  
 via Brecce - 60025 Loreto  
 info@tecnostampa.it  
 www.tecnostampa.it

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